LABOUR MONTHLY 1s

EDITOR · R PALME DUTT

America and Britain
R. P. D.

Europe Today (iv)
Mrs. E. M. Braddock, M.P.
Lester Hutchinson, M.P.
Benn W. Levy, M.P.

How to Reorganise the Government
Harry Pollitt

APRIL 1947

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TO OUR READERS!

We have now had three months' experience of the new format of the LABOUR MONTHLY. *We wish to thank all our readers for their encouraging support. It is of interest to note that letters from readers are, without exception, in approval.*

This favourable reception has brought us sharply up against the limitations of paper supplies. Despite the 40 *per cent. permitted increase last October, demand is now pressing hard against the available supplies, even in the new format and with the new price.*

Added to this is the Ministry's decision to cut one-eighth of paper supplies to periodicals.

We are therefore compelled to hunt around for any means of improving this present difficult situation; and by our next issue we hope to announce some results from our efforts.

The list of donors to the Guarantee Fund will be printed in the May issue.

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America and Britain

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has proclaimed his challenge to the free world. His speech to Congress on March 12 extends in its significance far beyond Greece, Turkey and the Middle East. It stakes the claim of the Wall Street millionaires and the high-power generals who today control the American administrative machine to dominate the political system of every country in the world and lay down for them their "way of life." It stakes their claim to bolster up every corrupt and reactionary regime from monarchist-fascism in Greece to the Kuomintang clique in China by every means of open intervention, economic, financial and military. It stakes their claim to impose their technical, economic and military missions and establish their strategic bases thousands of miles from American shores in every continent. And, taken in conjunction with the Waco speech a week earlier, it stakes the claim of the United States as "the giant of the economic world" to impose its economic system on the rest of the world and lay down "the future pattern of economic relations." Such are the simple, modest claims of the little lawyer from Kansas, suddenly pitchforked into the limelight by the death of Roosevelt. A long road has been travelled since Roosevelt set his signature to those accords of Teheran, by which Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union proclaimed their "determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow . . . we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace." A different path is being attempted by the reckless aggressive forces which at the moment control American politics and which have made Truman their wax puppet.

Lafayette in Reverse

America is repaying Europe for Lafayette in strange coin. A century and three-quarters ago the officer from monarchist France sailed to Georgetown and arrived in Philadelphia to fight on the side of the American Revolution and assist the victory of the insurgent Republic against the mercenary Hanoverian soldiers of King George. Today the United States, no longer the young insurgent Republic, but grown old and corrupt and rotting in the last stages of imperialist decay, sends its dollars, its arms and its military missions to maintain monarchy in Europe, and to preserve on his throne a King George who was smuggled into his country in a foreign plane and whose regime was established by foreign tanks and bombers against a people struggling to be free. The statue of Washington is thrown down from its pedestal and is replaced by the new idol of King George. The Monroe doctrine is cast to the four winds. The old Monroe doctrine proclaimed that no European Power should be allowed to impose its political system or domination

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in any State of the American Continent, and that conversely the United States would not intervene in any way in any question of the internal political regime in any European State. That doctrine was originally the weapon of self-defence of the young American democracy to protect itself and the rising democratic forces which were striving to overthrow the old European colonial system in Latin America against the intrigues and aggression of the Holy Alliance in Europe. Today the United States seeks to lead the new Holy Alliance against the rising democratic forces of the advanced democracies in Europe. The wheel has turned full circle. And today there is need of a new Monroe doctrine for the self-protection of the peoples of Europe and Asia against American intervention and aggression.

Neither Kaiser Nor Hitler

It is doubtful if in all the records of international politics, whether in the most flagrant "mailed fist" "shining armour" speeches of a Kaiser, or the megalomaniac frenzies of a Hitler, there has ever before been set out in any speech of a responsible leader of a Great Power, such an open and even nakedly proclaimed programme of world domination, expansion, intervention and dictation as in this Presidential Address of March 12, uttered in the prim precise accents of the mild Truman. Once again the aims of world domination are decked out in the threadbare trappings of the holy crusade against Communism and the Soviet Union, as in the technique made familiar by Hitler. The world will not be so easily deceived twice. The challenge is plain and unmistakable to every free people and to every people struggling for freedom. The peoples of the world today are awake and marching forward along the path of freedom, to build their lives anew and to set up a new social order based on brotherhood and justice. They who have been through the fires of hell to break Hitler are not disposed to bow their heads to the dollar dictators. But if the Presidential Address of March 12 sounds its challenge for every nation, it sounds above all the hour of choice for Britain. For Britain is still officially bound to the crazy chariot of American imperialism. But even the dullest in Britain are beginning to understand that, within the yoke of an unequal partnership, the sharp edge of that policy of expansion and domination is directed not least against Britain and the countries of the British Empire; and that, while the British people are struggling in the grip of cruel economic difficulties and under the intolerable strain of reactionary imperialist adventures, the embrace of the Anglo-American bloc is the embrace of death.

Hypocrisy Enthroned

Once again, as with the Kaiser's dreams of Berlin-Byzantium-Baghdad, and Hitler's dreams of "the march to the East," the Near and Middle East becomes the central scene of imperialist aggression and expansionist dreams. But when the United States sends its

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battleships and warplanes to the Eastern Mediterranean, all pretences of the needs of security and "living space" are thrown to the winds. The Dardanelles are no life-line of the United States. The United States has no lack of "living space." And so hypocrisy has to reach a height which would leave the Kaiser or Hitler pale with envy, when President Truman invokes the "defence of democracy" to maintain the foreign-imposed monarchist-fascist regime in Greece, based on the quislings who served Hitler's occupation during the war, or the foreign-subsidised brutal autocracy in Turkey which made its treaty with Hitler during the war. Only the prophets of the Ku Klux Klan and lynch law could here invoke their divine right to impose their "way of life" by arms and subsidised intervention against other nations. Greece is to be "defended" against the imaginary menace of a non-existent aggression, at the very moment when it is the victim of a real aggression which has occupied its land with foreign troops and under cover of those troops imposed a puppet regime which maintains a reign of terror against its people. Greece today, like Spain and Czechoslovakia ten years ago, like Spain still more than ever today—Greece and Spain today are the acid test of real support of democracy and of the freedom of nations There could be no more sickening international transaction than the negotiations which passed between the British and American ruling authorities, bargaining over the body of Greece for sixty million pounds. That depth of shame was only surpassed by the open calculations of the holders of the American moneybags, when they declared that they were prepared to put up the cash provided Britain supplied the man-power to continue to police and hold down the Greek people. The British people have still their word to say on these transactions made in their name. For the people of this country have no wish to be the hired gangsters and gunmen of American imperialism, maintained on a stinted ration to do the dirty work of policing and holding down other peoples all over the world, while the American profiteers draw the spoils.

Timing the Blow

Significant is the timing of this offensive. The Presidential declaration of March 12, proclaiming the right of lawless intervention, without even pretence of United Nations sanction, in the internal affairs of any country whose people might be adjudged guilty of communist tendencies (and the term "communist," in the eyes of the Inquisition grandees of the Committee on Un-American Practices, includes, not only anything socialist or liberal or savouring of planned economy, but anything to the left of Diehard Republicanism), was made on the selfsame day as the climax of the House of Commons debate which was revealing all the sores of Britain's economic dilemmas and the miseries resulting from a grandiloquent foreign policy pursued by an impoverished and overstrained country. It was made immediately after the opening of the Moscow Conference,

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which was to test the capacity of Four Power co-operation for the settlement of Germany on lines already pledged by international agreements; and the character of the American approach to such co-operation had already been ominously indicated by General Marshall's statement prior to his departure expressing himself as "very doubtful" of the conference achieving any result, and by the appointment as chief Republican adviser to the delegation of the notorious J. F. Dulles, former business associate of Germany monopoly interests under Nazism, who had just openly proclaimed his programme for a Western European Federation, including Germany or Western Germany, on the basis of the Ruhr, as a bulwark against Communism and the Soviet Union. Finally, the offensive was launched at the very moment when British-Soviet negotiations had been reopened for the reinforcement of the British-Soviet Treaty.

"Heirs of the British Empire"

The American press made no concealment of their interpretation of the significance of the moment chosen for launching the offensive. In lengthy dispatches Britain was described as "down and out." "An old run-down country" was the description of the *New York Times* London correspondent, who contrasted the backwardness of British factories and technique, not only with American factories and technique, but also with European factories and technique, and forecast that the present crisis may become "a steady slide to conditions of poverty unknown in the modern world in modern times." "Collapse of the British attempts at reconstruction is not inconceivable," was the verdict of Walter Lippmann; "it is even probable if heroic measures are not taken in time." The basic trouble, declares the New York *Herald-Tribune*, is that "Britain's world commitments are greater than her present economic and financial strength. It may prove impossible to beat the man-power shortage without considerable reduction in the armed forces." The journal then speculates whether this will not mean Britain leaving the Middle East: "United States policy is inevitably affected." From all this analysis and reasoning follows the grand conclusion. The long-predicted hour is supposed to have arrived when the United States takes over the legacy of the British Empire. The notorious Karl von Wiegand, described as the "Dean of American Foreign Correspondents," writes in the Hearst press:—

> The British Empire is passing into history. The great pageant of British power, glory and grandeur which paraded over and dominated the world for more than two centuries is coming to an end. . . .
>
> America is the natural heir to the legacy of power and world leadership so long held by the British Empire

The True Heirs

Not so fast. The greedy heirs-designate, or self-designated heirs of the supposedly dissolving British Empire are licking their lips over the legacy which they believe is falling into their laps. They are a

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little premature; or, to tell the truth, they are a little out of date in their ambitions. They have failed to note and study sufficiently the required reading for all would-be world empire mongers in the present age—the fate of Hitler and his companions. They have failed to ponder adequately why the super-perfect streamlined demagogic, military and pseudo-scientific technique of Hitler, which seemed to have moved every piece into position and to have spread its corruption in every ruling class of the Western world, nevertheless miscarried and ended in ignominious catastrophe, because it omitted to take into account one factor above all—the will of the peoples to freedom, and the decisive leadership of the working-class, of Marxism, with its highest embodiment in the Soviet Union, to mobilise that will throughout the world for victory, even in those countries where the ruling class had sunk in corruption and betrayal. They have forgotten the five hundred and fifty millions of Britain, the Dominions, India and the empire countries, who have no reason to lament the passing of the empire of domination and slavery, but who have no intention to fall victims to the new American overlords, but are already pressing forward as the true heirs to win mastery of their countries. Not the least significant lesson of the Empire Conference of Communist Parties held in London in the beginning of March was its demonstration of the rising strength of the people's movements which are pressing forward with close fraternal understanding and co-operation to take over in all the countries of the moribund Empire.

End of the Bevin Road

Nor is the warning signal of Truman's proclamation lost on the British people or even on those sections of the British ruling class which have not yet sold out to the American paymasters. Just as Hitler waved the flag of the grand crusade against Communism and the Soviet Union to cover his drive against the British Empire, so the American chauvinists sound the big drum about the menace of Communism and the aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union, at the same time as their actual drive is most actively pressed forward on every side, from East Asia to the Middle East and South America, to penetrate the former strongholds of British capital and the British Empire. Just as Chamberlain swallowed the bait, and was ready to give everything away along the path of appeasement, so long as it was wrapped in an anti-Soviet dressing, amid the applause of the gentry behind him, so Bevin, inspired by the same neurotic anti-communist frenzy of Transport House, eagerly swallows the same bait and is ready to give everything away in appeasement of American imperialism, amid the applause of the same gentry who applauded Munich. But the path of appeasement proves stony and costly with every week that passes. The full economic squeeze is only beginning, with the approaching Trade Conference to shatter inter-empire trading arrangements, the approaching date for the convertibility of

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sterling into dollars, and the approaching exhaustion of the American loan. In vain Bevin may once have sought to thump the table like a twentieth century Palmerston, or to inflate his chest like a Kerensky; he has to end by piteously complaining that he lacks the coal and the man-power to implement his foreign policy. The British people also want coal, but not necessarily for the purpose of Mr. Bevin's foreign policy.

An Anxious Note

In vain the Foreign Office may formally declare its "complete concurrence" with Truman's declaration. But its spokesman has next day to admit under questioning in Parliament that "naturally, we were not consulted." And the alarm which begins to spread in new circles over the bankruptcy of Bevinism is revealed, not merely in the debate on the economic situation, but in the anxious note of the editorials of such papers as *The Times* and the *Daily Herald* over the Truman declaration. *The Times* finds it "revolutionary" in "the blunt readiness it expresses to go ahead with a controversial American policy, without preliminary Great Power agreement or discussion by the United Nations." The *Daily Herald*, official organ of the Labour Government, finds the declaration "grave," "disturbing" and "frightening," and goes on to declare (March 15, 1947):—

> Our first reaction to President Truman's speech was one of uneasiness. Our second thoughts are no happier. . . .
>
> The attitude of Britain should be one not of complacency, but of anxiety; it becomes more than ever necessary that she should throw herself heart and soul into the strengthening of U.N.O. and into the parallel task of mediation between America and Russia.

Hard facts begin to teach lessons even in quarters where Communist warnings were at first ignored. But it is more than a question of "mediation between America and Russia." It is a question of ranging Britain with the camp of the progressive forces of the world, which will finally win the day, even in the end in America.

Capitulation or Independence

The choice before Britain is inescapable, and is being driven home with a physical relentlessness even of the very elements. This choice is at once economic and political; it expresses itself equally in domestic and foreign policy. Either continued capitulation to American imperialism, along the path of the reactionary Anglo-American bloc, which places crippling burdens on British resources and man-power, and by which Britain would lose all possibility of independent economic reconstruction, waste its strength on policing jobs for the Anglo-American bondholders, sink deeper in the mire of debt and mortgage its last resources to the American creditor, and finish up a suppliant dependant on American charity, a hired *condottiere* among the nations, and finally a military outpost and atom bomb base for the plans of American war against a Socialist Europe. This is the glorious future which modern Toryism, already increasingly sold out to its wealthier American partner, prepares for Britain

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—the path of Fulton. Or the alternative path of independence and social reconstruction; to break the shackles of the Anglo-American bloc and end the reactionary overseas commitments; to return to the basis of the British-Soviet Treaty and Crimea and Potsdam; to concentrate all strength on rebuilding British economy; and to march forward in unity with the European peoples who are building their lives anew, with the Soviet Union and with the peoples of the dependent empire who are pressing their way to freedom, to shape with them a stable and prosperous economic and political future which need have no fear of the threats of American reaction.

Our Allies in America

Nor is such a policy in any degree hostile to the progressive aims of the American people. On the contrary, it is the best aid to all the progressive sections of the American people, which are equally struggling against the present dominance of the blackest monopolist reaction, and striving to bring back America to the path of Roosevelt, of Three Power co-operation and of the United Nations. The American Colossus, the Colossus of American monopolist reaction, which its chauvinist propagandists seek to paint in such terrifying and awe-inspiring colours of irresistible might to paralyse the nations into panic and submission, is not so terrible, if the free nations stand firmly together before its threats. In face of all the intensified war of nerves, the dark threats of atom bombs to wipe out every Russian town and factory, the concentration of bases and strategic preparations on every Soviet border, the Soviet Union has shown its cool confidence by accelerating its demobilisation, concentrating on peaceful tasks of economic reconstruction, and instructing its scientists to devote their main efforts in the coming year, not to the invention of new war weapons as in America, but to cancer research. Every visitor to the newly advancing free countries of Eastern Europe, to Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia and Bulgaria, which have faced the American threats and refused to be intimidated, which in the face of the appalling economic difficulties are by their own strength building up their resources for a prosperous future, has spoken of the atmosphere of exhilaration, of exulting joy and freedom and self-confidence, in spite of every difficulty and hardship, and has contrasted it with the still widespread moods of depression, bewilderment, frustration and anxiety in this country, where the burden of the old order is still heavy and the change is only beginning. But the change is coming also in this country, and finally even in America. It is our urgent task in this country, in co-operation with all progressive sections in the United States, to hasten the change of policy which can guarantee the future and prevent the forces of darkness letting loose their final frenzy on the world.

Clay Feet

The Colossus has feet of clay. The domination and the aggressive plans of the tiny handful of giant monopolists who rule America

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and have gathered the majority of the wealth and productive resources of the wealthiest nation in the world into their grasp, and dream to use their mighty power to shatter all the hopes and plans of mankind for a future of social co-operation, are built on shaky and already trembling foundations. They live in panic fear of the approaching economic crisis whose inevitable onset, arising from their bankrupt system, they can already see and find no way to escape. They know the American people do not want a new war and that they resist even the suggestion of drafting American soldiers to new commitments overseas. The institutions and traditions of America are those of a commercial nation, which it would take heavy internal changes to transform. Hence the ruling finance-capitalist oligarchy dream to achieve their aims of world domination by the power of the almighty dollar, by the giving and withholding of billions of credits; they dream to achieve their aims by the threat of new forms of press-button war, by the atom bomb and miraculous new weapons, without committing their population to the dreaded hazard of full-scale war against free peoples who stand for the aim of socialism; they seek to use and subsidise and control the troops of other nations. Herein lies their fatal weakness. Money will not buy everything. In the world today the money of the rich money-lenders is no longer the only power; for the free peoples of the advanced democracies have learned to stand up to its threats and build their own economies. Four hundred million dollars will not buy domination of the Middle East; it will not end the revolt of the Greek people, or hold in submission fifteen million Turks and forty million Arabs. Already the hesitations and cross-currents alike in the ranks of the Republicans and the Democrats reveal their fears that this commitment will only be the beginning of further commitments, drawing them deeper and deeper into the morass. The time is visibly approaching when the British people will no longer allow their soldiers to be used for the sordid aims of the Anglo-American bloc, of the oil companies and concession mongers. When that time comes, the inflated outlines of the American Colossus, which hangs like a nightmare over the world, will begin to be pricked. It is, above all, here in this country that the key lies to the future of the world's freedom—and our own.

Economics of Liberation

The test of every nation in these coming years is the test of economic reconstruction. This is, above all, true for us in Britain. Liberation from dependence on America and economic reconstruction go hand in hand. If we would be free, we must build our own self-supporting economic basis to stand on our own feet. We must end the old parasitic basis of imperialist tribute which has led for the past three-quarters of a century to increasing neglect of the country's resources, industry and agriculture, to technical backwardness and chronic depression, and which already before the

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war was turning one half of England into a pleasure park for the rich and the other half into derelict areas. It is the bankruptcy of this system which we are living through today. Now it is becoming obvious to all that we must place production first, and give the basic producers first place in our country. The old apologists of imperialism, whether Tory or reformist, still mumble and fumble and try to attribute the present troubles to the consequences of the war, and to suggest that with a little extra effort everything will become normal again. But the old normal conditions of imperialist England will never return. The blast of harsh experience is shattering all easy-going dreams, and is compelling the whole nation, including the labour movement in the first place, to face facts and think afresh. All the illusions of reformism, which were built on the assumption of imperialism, have received a merciless blow. The shallow, flashy, brittle formulas of Fabianism and Keynsism, of easy panaceas without inconvenience to any one, are shrivelling up in the ordeal of the present tornado. We are brought face to face with the stark realities of production, not of make-believe manipulations and parliamentary legerdemain and civil service adjustments, but of men and labour and materials—the world of concrete realities where Marxism alone is master and guide and where the working-class must lead. We must win the battle of production, breaking every vested interest that stands in the way, if we are to win the battle of national survival and independence.

White Paper Fiasco

The weakness of the Government's White Paper, "Economic Survey for 1947," is that it completely fails to face the realities of the present situation. It rehearses at length some of the most familiar superficial facts of the situation (while hiding the most important) with the insufferable patronising air of an Economic League lecturer instructing an audience of ignorant workers. It stresses the urgency; it speaks of desirable aims and requirements. But by treating the whole problem as primarily an outcome of two wars it completely fails to touch the heart of the disease. It does not dare to face the real factors which are crippling reconstruction. It slides over the Economic Consequences of Mr. Bevin. It makes no attempt to set out a plan of action. Its "targets" are only desirable requirements with no relation to a positive policy or plan. Therefore it has completely failed to ring the bell or evoke a response. It was only necessary to listen to Mr. Attlee's broadcast to feel the helplessness of utopian reformism when required to grapple with an urgent concrete situation. The plea that the principles of so-called "democratic planning" make it in practice impossible to plan only covers the surrender to big business interests at home and to the squandering of resources in imperialist adventures abroad. Britain alone among the progressive nations of Europe remains without an overall economic plan.

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An Unfruitful Debate

Therefore the House of Commons debate turned into a hollow exchange of platitudes and polemics, and failed to dispel the clouds of uncertainty and confusion. It does not make sense for the House of Commons to debate for three days on the desperate urgency of the economic situation, and then next day to vote eighteen million pounds of precious foreign exchange to maintain the monarchist ex-fascist armed forces in Greece. It does not make sense to speak of the urgency of increasing home food production, and then to export three times the agricultural machinery of pre-war. It does not make sense to speak of the urgent need of coal, and then to export coal to Franco or desperately needed mining machinery. It does not make sense to speak of the urgent need of raising productivity and then to place capital re-equipment low down in the list below the requirements of military expenditure placed at the top of the list. It does not make sense to warn against increases of wages, and to ignore the enormously greater increase of profits and capital appreciations. The list of crazy contradictions could be infinitely extended. The whole economic structure of this country, both in respect of home production, balanced use of resources and man-power, and in respect of foreign trade and use of foreign exchange, is still topsy-turvy and hopelessly distorted; and only a strengthened Government, really representative of the best forces of the entire labour movement, with the full weight of a united working-class behind it, can take the necessary measures to remedy the situation.

Tory Strategy

Toryism has its "plan" after its own fashion: the old plan of deflation, rising prices and lowered standards of the workers, and dependence on America, with final calculations on the deepening of the crisis and American financial pressure to compel a reconstruction of the Government and a Tory come-back. The danger is that the Government Front Bench, by failing to present an alternative plan, slips into capitulation to the Tory plan, towards a coalition in practice in economic policy, alongside the existing coalition in foreign policy. The great Tory financial interests are already tied up with American financial interests, just as their ruling families are half-American by intermarriage. When it comes to the problem of coal, their solution is "Import American coal" (at £10 a ton). When it comes to the problem of man-power, their solution is: "Import foreign labour." When it comes to the problem of their own political eclipse, their solution is to trust to the deepening of the economic and financial crisis, when the American loan is approaching exhaustion; they openly calculate that the country, still economically helpless and dependent, will have to go cap in hand to the American paymaster, and that the lords of Wall Street will then insist, as a condition of any further assistance, on a reconstruction of the Government to bring Toryism back to effective power. The

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present dominant pro-American sections of the ruling Tory circles have become the agents of American power and the enemies of the country. Despising in their hearts Labour Britain, knowing they have lost touch with the people, seeing no future for the country, and looking to Washington as their metropolis, they see their own class future as the agents and bailiffs of American power and penetration, and are prepared to sacrifice for this the interests and future of the British people. The story of Toryism and treason is a long one, from the days of Carson to the days of the "Red Book," whose names the Government still protects from publication. Today it is approaching its climax. This is the strategy of a dying class, which is already on the way to joining the ranks of White emigrés in the service of a foreign power. This is not the path which the people of Britain will follow.

Our Path

The people of Britain are not dead or dying. They are very much alive and determined to solve their problems. They will not follow the Tory path of capitulation to the American financiers. Changes will have to come, very much more far-reaching than are yet contemplated, if we are to master the present crisis. We must organise and carry out a national economic plan, which puts first things first, gives first priority to the basic industries and re-equipment of industry, together with the protection and raising of social standards, and cuts out the present waste of resources and man-power in luxury and non-essential directions. We must immediately bring to an end the senseless waste of resources and man-power and foreign exchange on imperialist adventures and subsidies for reaction abroad. We must end the crazy system of trading which sends abroad the most urgently needed productive machinery in order to pay for luxury imports of high-priced exotic fruits, Hollywood films or Swiss ski-ing tours of the sons and daughters of the rich. We must develop the closest trading relations, and integrate our planning and economy, with the countries which are building up their planned economy, with the new democracies in Europe, and with the Socialist Soviet Union. We must change the whole attitude to the colonial empire, and work to plan mutually beneficial economic development with a free India and with independent or autonomous former colonial countries. All this basic re-direction of the main lines of economic and political strategy to meet the present crisis will undoubtedly require a reconstruction of the Government —along very different lines from those contemplated by Toryism. The Communist Party Congress has set out in clear and concrete form the policy that must be followed. The fight for this policy is the fight for the future of Britain.

"Open the Door, Richard"

Sometimes the songs which win the passing popular appeal of the moment reflect, in however twisted a form, not only the mood

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of a moment, but the history of an era. Just as the "silver lining" and the "long trail" reflected the dark, interminable torment of the first world war, and the "spare a dime" and the "dancing with tears in my eyes" reflected the onset of the world economic crisis so today the strain of "Open the door, Richard" has spread from the United States to catch the ear of millions. Mankind is indeed knocking at the door of the illimitable plenty and liberation which modern science and technique already visibly holds within reach, and at the same moment finds itself still struggling and writhing within the conditions of the most primitive shortage and hardship to an extent scarcely equalled within modern times. But it is not unfitting that this song should arise precisely in the United States, where the people, in the midst of the greatest accumulation and abundance of wealth, are the most anxious, uncertain and fearful for the future, shut out from the confidence and security which their technical advance should bring them, beginning to become conscious of the burning blast of scorn and hatred which the policy of their rulers is bringing on them from the free peoples of the world, and not yet finding the path of political liberation and purpose which can alone give them hope and inspiration for the future. It is the free peoples of the new democracies of Europe who already, in the midst of poverty, destruction, privation and united endeavour, have found the key and opened the door; they are on the other side. And the British people have shown, and are showing, in these hours of trial their unshakable determination that they also will find the key and open the door to lead the way to that new world which is waiting to be won.

R. P. D.

March 19, 1947.

BACK NUMBERS

LABOUR MONTHLY is always pleased to receive spare copies of early numbers of the Magazine. At the present time it particularly requires the following (for which 1*s*. a copy will be paid):—

1921 to 1925 inclusive—all numbers.

1926—March.

1926—May, October.

1928—April to December, inclusive.

1929—February, March, May, December.

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HOW TO REORGANISE THE GOVERNMENT

by Harry Pollitt

IN my report, on behalf of the Executive Committee, to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party, we made the following statement:—

Two years of compromising with big business at home and imperialist policy abroad has at last compelled the Government to declare "the position of the country is extremely serious." The labour movement, solid to the core against Tory attacks, is nevertheless profoundly disturbed.

The Communist Party, while defending the Government against the unscrupulous and hypocritical attacks of the Tories who have the main responsibility for Britain's economic position, demands an immediate reorganisation of the Government to face the situation.

Those Ministers deeply compromised in placating big business and pursuing an imperialist foreign policy must be dropped. The Government must be strengthened with men prepared to smash the imperialist monopoly and vested interests once and for all and organise a real economic plan. There is no need for talk of a Coalition Government in Britain. The labour movement can and will do the job.

That was on February 22. Every day since then only confirms the urgency for carrying out a decisive reorganisation of the Government. In the recent parliamentary debate (March 10-12) on Britain's economic position, every speech and argument used by Ministers gives added proof of how essential it is in the lasting interests of Britain and its working people that no further time should be lost in bringing about those necessary changes in the Government. These changes must be of a character to guarantee to the labour movement that the tremendously serious problems we have to face and solve are really going to be tackled with confidence, with enthusiasm, with the recognition that there must be a greater frontal attack on capitalism than we have yet seen in Britain. The main responsibility and leadership to carry this through must come from a Government composed of the most tried and trusted working-class fighters and leaders that the labour movement has.

There is no need here to go over the familiar arguments as to why Britain finds itself in the present serious situation. The main thing now is to recognise that we have to plan and work for at least five years ahead, understanding that it will take this time to organise effectively the maximum resources our country possesses, and to have entered upon new forms of international economic co-operation. This much at least would give the people the assurance that within five years our whole economy would be in a planned state of productive efficiency, that never again would Britain be confronted with its present difficulties and sacrifices.

It is time to speak plainly. We were among the first to state that the situation immediately after the formation of the Labour Govern-

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ment was a honeymoon period which would soon come to an end. It is necessary to state now that unless the reorganisation we demand is carried out, this nation may face difficulties that would make the present position look prosperous. Meanwhile other nations in Europe will have long recovered from the ravages of war, and will have placed their economies on a planned basis. At the same time through mutual political understanding and trade with each other they will have become largely immune from any economic crisis which may arise in the United States of America.

The bloated financiers of Wall Street are already gloating over our situation. They believe that Britain will come more and more under their domination. The financiers in the City of London are already speaking about a new financial crisis in some months from now because of a shortage of American dollars.

This is what the Tories also have in mind. They too believe that by the summer the situation will have developed to a point where they will be in a stronger position to demand a Coalition Government, to slow down nationalisation and State control, to curtail social services and to sell Britain to America.

We are going to see some quislings yet in Britain.

But how little they know the spirit of our working-class if they think their aims are going to be realised! Our boys did not fight on the beaches of Dunkirk, at Tobruk, or lie awaiting death at Arnhem; our people did not face blitzes, flying bombs, rockets, while America was unscathed and its millionaires made more millions, to capitulate now either to Truman or Churchill.

Do we criticise the Labour Government for the sake of criticism, as some of our critics allege? Nothing of the sort. It is because we want a Labour Government to succeed, and it can succeed, that we make our present demand. We want to strengthen it against the present and coming attacks of the Tories. It is because we want to avoid a repetition of present experiences—as they can be prevented —that we call for a complete new overhaul of the present Labour Government.

One thing is clear. There is neither a common planned policy, leadership nor loyalty to one another in the present set-up. It lives from hand to mouth. Responsible working-class leaders, who in the course of their duties have to meet Ministers, are positively alarmed at the lack of confidence one with another, and lack of knowledge as to what is taking place in the different Government departments. It has also not escaped notice that when changes in personnel are suggested, in general the suggestions are aimed at Ministers who are on the Left and not at the dominant right-wing leaders whose policy since the General Election has so largely intensified the inevitable difficulties that would have come after a six years' war, after the loss of a former privileged monopoly position and amid the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

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It is also essential to point out that in the main when changes are made in the composition of the Government, it is only the alleged "intellectuals" and never the class-conscious tried working-class fighters in the movement, who are promoted—never fighters tested in bitter strikes and lock-outs, men and women who hate capitalism and the capitalists, fighters who are in the movement because of conviction and not for personal careerism and advancement.

It isn't the accidents of external circumstance that are the cause of the present crisis in the leadership of the Labour Government, a crisis which gives the Tories weapons they ought never to have had placed in their hands to use against Labour. It is lack of policy and leadership, lack of faith in the working-class and Socialism. What else is it when we find them bringing the "best brains" of big business to operate policies they do not believe in, alongside a dependence upon American big business, while deliberately rejecting the outstretched hands of peace, friendship and trade with our natural allies in the Soviet Union and new European democracies?

There is no imagination. No appeal to those from whom the Government draws its power. For the present Labour leaders, as is made clear by Cripps and Dalton every time they speak, the workers are still the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The decisive jobs in the Government go to inexperienced university men, newcomers with wrong Socialist theories, and no practice of any kind in the daily struggle against capitalism. What do Messrs. Mayhew, Wilson and Gaitskell know of the trade union struggle?

And yet the movement is so rich in people, great people, the common people, the types Stalin once proposed in his famous toast. We saw their initiative in producing "Tanks for Joe," in taking convoys to the Soviet Union, when the press was unanimous there had never been so much enthusiasm for production or more bravery and daring on the high seas. It can be organised now to a greater height, as the lead of the Communist miners in the Rhondda has recently proved. The common people, who during the war solved the bottle-necks of production, who displayed so many qualities of leadership in the air raids, at Dunkirk, Dieppe, El Alamein and Arnhem—how much greater could be their spirit to help solve Britain's economic difficulties if they were given a plan, told exactly what was wanted, asked to give their views as to what should be done, and how it could be done, and given the leading positions in carrying the plan through.

No Government ever had such a reserve of rich political capital. It is high time it was used to the fullest possible extent. We are confident that if the Government called a national conference of Shop Stewards and were prepared not to deliver speeches and pep talks but to listen and learn, they would get more out of it than all the conferences yet addressed by Ministers.

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It is time to give the common people their head. It is time to stop thinking that American is the only country in the world that Britain can look to, even if America thinks it can look to Britain to find and pay for British cannon-fodder in furtherance of its own imperialist aims in Greece and the Middle-East. The people of Britain are waiting, but they won't wait too long. The Government will never get away again with what they have in these last two months: wage losses through the fuel crisis, open victimisation of active shop stewards, no Government relief either for wages or to protect the shop stewards. There is a murmuring down below, and it is dangerous both for the Tories and the Labour Government to ignore it.

The zenith of Social Democracy in Britain has been passed. The people in increasing numbers now begin to realise there is no middle way. To read now what the barren theoreticians of the Foot and Laski type wrote in the first few months after the General Election in July, 1945, is to brand them with political shame. Not that they ever said anything new. Bevin and Brailsford tried it on in 1928. Hilferding and Tarnov in Germany backed the same policy. America was the model then. America was teaching the world a new way towards Socialism. The Soviet Union would go down into barbarism. This was the theme song in 1928 and 1929. Then in the autumn of 1929 the economic crisis in America caught every capitalist country in its train and the rise of Hitler was one of the direct outcomes of that crisis.

The working-class do not intend to be caught again as they were caught then: and those who think they can be caught are making the most profound mistake in their lives.

A year ago it was only foreign policy which seemed to cause alarm in the ranks of the Labour Party. At the Bournemouth Labour Party Conference it was roses all the way for the platform. But now the disillusionment is spreading to home affairs. More and more Labour Members of Parliament have to give expression to the growing realisation that our economic difficulties spring from a fundamentally wrong policy at home and abroad and they are more and more compelled to voice the discontent they find in their constituencies at such gatherings as Attlee addressed at the private meeting of Labour Members of Parliament on March 10.

This movement will grow. It is one of the healthy signs of the times. What lies behind it can no longer be thwarted in its purpose. The movement wants a stronger, more united Government. It wants the best the movement can produce and it wants it to produce that overall economic plan that is known to every worker in the country, understood by them, fought for and worked for by them. It wants this plan to be integrated with the plans of the European nations who are already well into their stride. Those who from now on increasingly fight for such a policy in the factories, trade unions, Labour parties, Co-operative movement and local and county coun-

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cils, Parliament and in public meetings and press, are rendering both Britain and the labour movement the best possible service.

They are taking a stand which can enable Britain to yet astonish the world by the manner in which its working people can adjust themselves to the new conditions and in free and fraternal association with all the nations of Europe, the Dominions and freed colonial peoples, help forward the prosperity of all labour and democratic movements throughout the world.

Let me conclude as I began : there is no need for a Coalition Government in Britain—the labour movement can and will do the job.

HARRY POLLITT.

EUROPE TODAY (IV)

by Lester Hutchinson, M.P.

UNDER the shadow of atomic war the struggle to maintain world peace becomes inevitably merged with the progress of the social revolution. No international alliance or organisation can indefinitely prevent war unless the fundamental causes of war, inherent in capitalist economy, are eliminated.

In this age of new inventions and discoveries which will have the same effect on social and economic life as the discovery of steam-power and the invention of industrial machinery had on social organisation in the nineteenth century, society must adapt itself to the new conditions or perish. In short, the advance of science has made world socialism imperative if civilisation is to survive.

It follows therefore that the inspiration of our foreign policy should not only be support for U.N.O. but the encouragement of all progress towards social revolution.

The ideological character of the late war, resulting in the defeat of the counter-revolution, has immeasurably strengthened the forces of the Left. Asia is in successful revolt against imperialism and its native satellites; American capitalist stability is threatened by the economic consequences of its own greed; Russia has emerged from the war as potentially the world's greatest power; and Europe has achieved a partial revolution, Poland and the Balkan States having thrown off their ancient tyrannies, and the parties of the Left predominant in France, Italy and even in shattered and occupied Germany. In Britain the war resulted in the collapse of Tory power, and the return of a Labour Government with a popular mandate for far-reaching social reform and for a progressive foreign policy.

As the revolution is in full march, so we must expect the opposing march of the counter-revolution, which receives inspiration and sustenance from American Big Business, determined to make a last-ditch stand for survival, regardless of the perils to society this involves.

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With this background, the Labour Government's foreign policy has so far been disappointing and may become disastrous to itself and to the world if unchecked. Instead of supporting the revolution, it has drifted into the camp of the counter-revolution; instead of co-operating with Russia in the reorganisation and socialist re-orientation of Europe, it seems to co-operate with the U.S.A. in attempting to make Europe an American anti-Soviet colony. In fact, it would seem that the Government's foreign policy is guided by Mr. Churchill, who issues his directives at Fulton and Zurich for an Anglo-American Alliance and for a Western Bloc, and applauds the results.

Zilliacus, in his factual and altogether excellent article in your January issue, clearly showed that the pre-war successes of the fascist counter-revolution were due to the disunity of the Left, and in particular to the mutual antagonism of social democracy and communism. In its fear and hatred of communism, and by implication Russia, social democracy relied more and more on the support of the reactionaries until it was finally swallowed by them. Is it too much to hope that some time before it is too late we may learn this lesson?

The solution lies far deeper than Crossman's panacea of an Anglo-French Alliance. Churchill's United Europe Committee also wants an Anglo-French Alliance as a preliminary to a Franco-German Alliance, as part of his political and military plot against the U.S.S.R. An Anglo-French Alliance can be useful only if it is based on the French Left and completes the triangle of the Franco-Soviet and Anglo-Soviet Alliances.

A united Socialist Europe with the essential inclusion of Russia (why does Crossman think Russia is a non-European power?) can not only prevent war, but provide the foundation of the new social order which civilisation requires.

If, on the contrary, we fail because we allow our policy to be guided in part by the Opposition, then we shall not easily be forgiven. *Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.*

EUROPE TODAY (IV)

by Mrs. E. M. Braddock, M.P.

HOW far has this, the first Socialist Government, been following the old foreign policy that relied on the bayonets of the working-class to maintain order where necessary, and the education and training of the middle classes to operate a system of judicature and administration that worked well enough as long as the bayonets were known to be available as need arose?

It is becoming increasingly evident that in all those geographical areas, as far apart as Trinidad in the West and Burma in the East, where Britain gathered the wealth that was invested in the interest of the few, the time has now virtually arrived when a decision about

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bayonets can no longer be delayed. Let it be said categorically that the use of bayonets in Greece and the Dutch East Indies had no justification in economic imperialism, as none of the wealth to be extracted from either of those places would in the main belong to the British capitalists, as is the case in India, Burma and other Far Eastern areas that have long been mapped as part of Britain's Empire and that are now in the process of struggling for better standards of life.

So having used armed might to suppress the workers in countries where Britain has neither title nor assets, unless we are to believe that the Labour Government is committed to the support of the old ruling classes everywhere when they seek our help against their own working people, then it is not possible for a Socialist to explain those incidents in the Labour Government's foreign record without a feeling of dismay that our long struggle for power in this country has been a wasted epoch, and that we must now organise as of old in unity with all Socialists to ensure that whatever happens in the struggles in India, Burma and every other area where the poverty and near-slavery of the working people are a legacy of shame thrust upon a Labour Government by a long succession of capitalist governments, armed might must not be used in our name as a means of suppression.

Those of us who believe in Socialism can play no part in the use of armed force as a weapon to prevent the enslaved peoples from using their own natural resources and wealth as a means of improving their own miserably low standards of life.

If freely negotiated trade agreements between free peoples as a means of exchanging the finished products of our factories for the raw materials and food of other lands, are not to be substituted for the swashbuckling domination that has held the Empire together for so long, then let us hand over the fruits of our victory at the polls to the diehard Tories, who have known so long and practised so assiduously the policy of government by force in all parts of the Empire, and so at least escape the humiliation of armed suppression as a means of holding in subjection those who are now struggling to be free from misery and want.

Let us at the same time, because that is inescapable, renounce the Socialist principles and policy that have, since our beginning as a Labour Party, been the only philosophy we have ever known.

EUROPE TODAY (IV)

by Benn W. Levy, M.P.

IT is encouraging to note that Zilliacus and Crossman, in two previous contributions to this series, agree in emphasising the necessity for a West European Group. It is gravely discouraging, however, that Winston Churchill also agrees. Of his many mischief-

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making interventions in foreign affairs since the General Election this advocacy of a "United States of Europe" is perhaps the most deliberately destructive of them all. He is, of course, too shrewd a politician to believe for a moment that with Communist-Socialist majorities in most of the European countries, more especially France, there is the remotest chance of the project coming to fruition, in spite of the idealistic and innocent language of its manifesto or the ingenuous and well-meaning stalking-horses that he has managed to press into service. For you cannot go into partnership with the orator of Fulton and expect anyone to believe that your joint aims are not anti-Soviet, even if you believe it yourself. Churchill's hope was not to succeed, but, by queering the pitch, to prevent others from succeeding; and although a rapprochement of European countries is still not impossible, his manoeuvre may well have delayed it.

There are, of course, great difficulties in any case, of which psychological, economic and strategic differences about Germany are only some. But none of these should be insuperable, given the necessary mutual trust. Unfortunately the unifying force of a common socialist purpose is counterbalanced by conflicting interpretations of the word "democracy" and still more by the suspicion that we are committed to an American alignment, come rain come snow.

The condition of European unity is that we should dissipate that suspicion. Until we have done so any initiative by the British Government towards a new grouping would be suspect, and it would certainly be additionally discredited by an unsolicited but inevitable testimonial from Churchill. The proper counter to the present Churchill gambit, therefore, would be a proposal for closer European collaboration, issued by the French Communist Party, with Soviet support. As a result Mr. Churchill might hastily find reasons for wondering whether the scheme were quite as desirable as he had thought. Moreover, by the character of its response the Government could use the opportunity to demonstrate once and for all that its declared independence of the United States is as real as its manifest independence of Russia. By making the proposal Communism would rid itself of much distrust and Great Britain no less by accepting it.

From which, fine flowers could grow.

BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1946

No date can be given for the completion of the bound volumes: it may be many weeks ahead. But readers can rest assured that they will be despatched straight from the binders.

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CANADA

by Tim Buck

IT is only eighty years this coming July since the various British colonies in North America were united in a Confederation under the British North America Act. At that time seventy-five per cent. of the territory which is now Canada was virgin wilderness. The various colonies were weak, separated from each other, made up of small isolated settlements. Such industry as had developed was in small enterprises dependent upon local markets.

It is only just over sixty years since the first railway track was laid across the wilderness. Frederick Engels visited Canada a few years after the railway was completed. Commenting upon the political institutions of the country and the general perspective of development, he expressed the opinion that Canada and all the English-speaking colonies would develop into independent capitalist States. His opinion has been completely vindicated by events.

Fifty years after the wilderness was first spanned by railway, that wilderness was transformed; and Canadian economy has been transformed from a colonial to a mature capitalist economy. The marked growth in absolute magnitude of Canada's national economy is best illustrated by the change that has taken place during the last forty years. Shortly before the first world war, there was published in England a book entitled *Canada and the British Empire*. The author, who was well informed, pointed out that during the ten years 1900-1909, British investors made investments in Canada at the average rate of about fifteen million pounds per year. He emphasised correctly that this investment was decisive for Canada's economic development, but he questioned whether the country would be able to pay the interest upon what he termed such "large-scale investments."

From the capitalist point of view there was justification for those doubts in 1911 because the economy of the country was still relatively weak. Yet in 1936, Mr. Charles Dunning, then Minister of Finance in the Dominion Government, declared that on balance, Canadians had exported capital to the extent of nine hundred million dollars during the five years of 1931-35—or at considerably more than double the rate which had appeared so great in Britain only twenty-five years earlier. During the war, the Canadian Government was able to spend at the rate of five thousand million dollars per year without recourse to foreign borrowings, while last year the Dominion Government granted loans totalling $1,645,000,000 to the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and Holland alone.

The following table illustrates the growth of Canadian economy during the past fifty years:—

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Manufacturing Industries
Values in Millions of Dollars

	1891	1926.	1931.	1941.
Capitalisation	353	3,981	4,961	4,905
Gross value products	368	3,100	2,555	6,076
Value of field crops*	194	1,104	435	683
External trade	199	2,269	1,215	3,069

During the war Canada's national economy was further expanded. The national income in the first full year after the war was more than double the annual national income before the war, and that level was attained in large part by the export of capital.

It is clear, therefore, that Canada is now a mature capitalist state. The relationship between the Canadian capitalist class and the Government of the United Kingdom is in no sense a relationship of colonial subordination.

Along with the rapid growth of industry and foreign trade, basic changes have taken place in the structure of Canada's economy. Small competitive enterprises have amalgamated or have been absorbed in mergers. The flow of capital and the direction of the decisive trends of investment have been centralised under the control of monopolistic financial institutions; banks, trusts and insurance companies. There are only eleven chartered banks in the country, and there is a complete merger of bank and industrial capital. The most influential directors of Canada's chartered banks are simultaneously the decisive figures in the control and direction of Canadian industries. For example, twenty-two men, directors of chartered banks, are also directors of industrial corporations, which together represent approximately half of all Canadian industry.

The decisive branches of Canadian economy are thus completely dominated by finance-capitalist monopolies—many of them are Canadian partners in international cartels. Governmental policies have reflected the general aims and the interests of the monopolies with unfailing consistency during the past thirty years with very little variation whether Liberals or Conservatives have been in power. The transformation of Canada during the fifty-five years since Engels commented upon its extremely weak economic development, provides a classical illustration of the law of uneven economic and political development under capitalism.

Canada is now an aggressive and thrusting secondary imperialistic power. The main enemy of the workers and farmers of Canada, of the great mass of Canada's people, is not a foreign imperialist power, but the rapacious and ruthless finance-capitalist oligarchy which dominates every aspect of Canadian life and dictates her domestic and foreign policies.

Canadian finance-capitalism has its own economic and political aims which do not always coincide with the United Kingdom. The main trend is towards junior partnering United States imperialism.

(* Note the catastrophic fall during the world economic crisis.)

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Thus, Canadian imperialists oppose proposals to tighten organisation of Empire, e.g., Louis St. Laurent, the Minister for External Affairs, emphasised that Canada's attitude to the British Commonwealth is based upon the three following considerations:—

(*a*) The desire to preserve it and develop all its potentialities.
(*b*) Refusal to agree to any "freezing" of its forms of organisation or supra-national authority.
(*c*) Refusal to allow the Commonwealth to become an obstacle to Canada's relationships and co-operation with other governments or to the development of a world organisation. He added that on the background of the foregoing considerations "we now share with our associated parliamentary democracies the task of preserving this form of government."

At the same time Canadian imperialists want Empire maintained, as imperialist preferences are a powerful factor in its development, and more fundamental than immediate economic aims.

The internal reaction in Canada has consistently been more severe than in any other English speaking country of the Empire and most of the time more severe than in the United States. This is illustrated most clearly of all by the so-called "Padlock Law" in the province of Quebec, which empowers the provincial police to padlock any premises which they suspect of being used as a meeting-place, a place of work, a place for distribution or storage of Communist literature, a store for the sale of Communist literature, or of being used in any way for the purpose of spreading Communist propaganda or carrying on organisational work.

Racial discrimination is rampant in Canada. The colony of East Indians (mainly workers brought to Canada during the period of railroad construction) is bereft of political rights though British subjects by birth.

Mr. Louis St. Laurent, the Minister for External Affairs "explained" this orientation of Canadian policy in a lecture on the foundations of Canadian foreign policy when he declared his "dislike of dictatorships" and his preference for "governments based upon the ideals of Christian civilisation and standards of values which transcend mere material well-being."

The consistency with which the Canadian delegation in the United Nations Organisation has supported the aims of a United States imperialism and particularly the drive to disrupt Big Three unanimity, has illustrated repeatedly the fact that the present Canadian Government is pursuing a considered policy in this respect. Another feature of its policy which illustrates the calculated effort to integrate Canada's foreign relationships with the policies of American imperialism, is to be seen in the narrow circle of countries to which Canada grants loans and credits. The Canadian House of Commons earmarked $2 billions for loans and credits to the Allies during 1946. $1,250,000,000 was loaned to the British Government; $245,000,000 to the French Government; and $150,000,000 to the Dutch Government—$50,000,000 of which was loaned specifically

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to help finance the Dutch campaign to crush the national republican government of Indonesia. Although a large amount of the money earmarked for post-war loans was thus left unused, the Government refused to grant any credit whatsoever to the people of Poland, or the Soviet Union, or the other new democracies in Europe to help them in the building of a new life.

The policy is illustrated most clearly of all in the widely publicised so-called "Espionage Investigation." This was, in fact, a tremendous and highly-organised government manoeuvre to counteract the widespread growth of friendship in Canada for the Soviet Union and the new democracies. More than two million Canadians are either immigrants from Central and South-Eastern Europe, or are the sons and daughters of such immigrants. Among them there is a deep and abiding desire that Canada should help the people of the lands from which they or their parents came. The friendship of wide circles among all sections of Canada's people for the Soviet Union was demonstrated during the war when, in three years, $14,000,000 was contributed voluntarily to Soviet relief. It was to stem this rising tide of democratic sentiment that the "Espionage Investigation" was opened up.

That the Government was motivated by other considerations than actual evidence in its hands, is to be seen in the fact that of the eleven persons who had been tried up to the end of January, five had been acquitted by the courts. The most damning fact that was revealed in the course of the trials was an indictment, not of any man or woman on trial, but of the King Government itself. It was revealed that in the midst of the Battle of Stalingrad, Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, refused to give the Soviet Government the formula for the new super-explosive RDX developed by Canadian scientists, although the formula was given to the governments of Britain and the United States. The significance of this "holding out" on the Soviet Union at that time is better understood when it is also realised that the fate of the United Nations hinged upon the ability of the Red Army to stop and defeat Hitler's drive, that the Red Army was the only United Nations army in a position to use RDX effectively at that time, and that RDX is reputed to be twenty times more powerful than any explosive available either to the United Nations armies or the Nazi armies until atomic bombs were perfected. Millions of democratic Canadians will be ashamed of this act of treachery to an ally long after the hectic anti-Soviet propaganda of which the spy scare was made the occasion has been forgotten.

In Canada the main struggle of the labour movement and its democratic allies is against the drive to subordinate the interests of the Canadian people to the war plans of United States imperialism. Against that drive the Communists call upon all progressive Canadians to insist upon national policies of co-operation with all democratic forces. We are for the loans to Britain and to France. We are in

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favour of loans to the full capacity of Canada's ability to extend them for purposes of democratic post-war reconstruction. We fight against the discrimination by which the Canadian is making its ability to grant loans and credits a supplementary instrument of United States' foreign policy. We oppose and call upon the labour movement to fight against the granting of large-scale loans to Holland for the purpose of crushing the national independence movement in Indonesia and we urge a policy of generous loans and credits to the new democracies in Europe to help them rebuild their economies in a new way and make Canadian economy not merely of aid to the new democracies, but a partner in the new democratic way of life that the are building.

Hundreds of thousands of Canadian workers and tens of thousands of farmers support these demands. Unions, farmers' organisations, and hundreds of cultural organisations throughout Canada, press the Government to change its policy in this direction. The majority of people in Canada are sympathetic to and want Canada to support the new democracies in Europe, the independence movements in the colonies and the fight for a better life in the old land.

Above all, the people of Canada want policies that promise the assurance of stable and lasting peace. The 30 per cent. of our people in French Canada are by national sentiment and 180 years of tradition, intensely anti-imperialist and anti-war. They are keenly stirred by the danger of war in Canada which is being created by the present policies of the Government of allowing United States War Department to use Canada as a proving ground for its preparations and equipment now being prepared in anticipation of a new war across the Arctic.

French Canadians and Canadians who stem from continental Europe, as well as that 49 per cent. of Canada's people who stem from the British Isles, all look with enthusiastic hope to the struggles of the British people to solve their post-war problems and advance to socialism. There is a wide recognition that a Socialist Britain would guarantee freedom for all the peoples of the present Empire, and this in turn would decisively stymie the plans now being so freely discussed in the United States for organising a bloc of Engish-speaking countries in a warlike policy against the new democracies.

Thus the Labour Progressive Party voices both the real material interests of Canada's people and a powerful growing body of public opinion in its fight to unite the democratic forces in Canada with all other progressive forces throughout the Empire in the struggle for complete freedom for all the colonial peoples as part of mankind's struggle for socialism and peace for all time.

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CAUCASUS WEEK

by J. Todd and D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P.

10*th Sept*. A grey, dank, drizzly morning when our plane took off from Moscow airport. The plane, an American-built 21-seater 2-engined Douglas Dakota, flown by a crew of four—members of the Soviet Civil Air Fleet. All except the youngest have war decorations, and the short, smiling captain speaks a little English, having done some training during the early 1930s in Yorkshire. For about four hours flew below the clouds, and watched the sweeping fields of central Russia turn gradually darker as we reached the rich Black Earth region. Too high generally to see clearly the marks of the invader. At one point we circled Stalino, the great mining town which had been so badly destroyed and yet looked now like a very large neat toy village (an impression of recovery later confirmed by English friends who had seen it at eye-level). Then on the left the ground was suddenly cut by a sharp curving line, and was dun-coloured on one side and pearly-grey on the other: realised we were looking at the Sea of Azov. At last the Black Sea itself swung into sight, blue and sparkling and fringed with white boxes which we knew to be former palaces turned rest-houses. After six hours' flying spiralled down to the airfield at Adler, where Soviet friends alighted for their holiday at the famous resort of Sochi. Got out of the plane to stretch our legs, screwing our eyes up against the sun. The hot clear air started at once to bake the English summer out of our bones. Walked across the tussocky sun-baked grass to the airport building—a wooden house set in a copse of trees, and a little arbour with seats under the trailing vines. Suddenly one of our Soviet friends gave an exclamation of joy: "Our first *bazar*!" and made a bee-line for a modest stall where collective farm women were selling grapes and peaches. Several Muscovites, in their nervous urban way, had warned us against *ever* eating fruit in the South without washing it: "*several* times at least and *preferably* in vodka—all that *handling* and chemical sprays—most dangerous" But the English of 1946, seeing all that good fruit lying about, were not in an aseptic frame of mind. (No ill-effects throughout Caucasus Week.)

While we were there, two or three plane-loads of hot pale people arrived, and were met by the friends whom they would in a few days resemble—brown-skinned and cool in white clothes. Buses waited for them in the blazing holiday afternoon, the oilcloth of the seats scorching hot, the driver dozing with his cap tipped over his eyes, the paint on the sign "Holiday Home of the Textile Workers of Ivano" flaking gently in the heat, until the arrival of the plane jerked everybody into action—wavings, greetings, hallooings, and culminating in the final departure of the bus, when the scene resumed its drowsiness till the next plane.

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The flat land on which the airfield lay had the Black Sea at its southern end, but was otherwise surrounded by a horse-shoe of high wooded hills, terraced with vines at their bases. An innocent question, coming from one who had till recently been in the neighbourhood of nothing higher than Enfield West underground station, as to what mountains those were, brought the equally innocent reply "What mountains?" We understood this better as we took off once more and the plane climbed higher and higher to cross part of the Caucasian range proper, and snow-clad peaks began to appear. As we neared Tbilisi (Tiflis) the evening glow made it appear as if the rich valleys below were barren red rocky cloughs, but we afterwards found they were in fact extremely fertile, with many large villages. Tiflis itself looked a huge town, spread in a wide golden valley overhung by mountains, and cut by the mighty Kura river. Flowers, and greetings in Georgian, Russian and English, awaited us, and we drove off to the town, which was now no longer golden but a deep velvet blue, studded with thousands of twinkling lights. In our hotel we felt that we were not only south, but east—the rooms were lofty and cool, with tiled floors and a little evening breeze ruffling the long white curtains.

The day closed with a private showing of two new films produced by the young Georgian film industry—a good documentary of the last thirty years of Georgian history, which made us realise not only the natural beauty and ancient culture of the Republic, but also its great industrial development in Soviet times; and a historical play of episodes in Georgian history of the eighteenth century, involving Frederick II of Prussia and culminating in the union with Russia in order to protect Georgia from her enemies.

Sept. 11. Drove some forty miles over good roads through fine old villages to Gori, the small town or large village where Stalin was born. Delays there—due to a bold attempt to drive a large car round grassy side roads, owing to the main road being under repair—gave us opportunity to see all sorts of lanes and cottages, and brown urchins whose name might well be Djugashvili, playing in the streams. Stalin's birthplace, one room in a medium-sized cottage, is roofed over with a high pavilion of really fine architecture, with an equally good (small) museum at the side.

One large building in the town, larger than most London theatres and architecturally better than any of them—deserving indeed, warmer praise than that—proved on enquiry to be nothing special, "just the local theatre."

Our first experience of lavish Georgian hospitality here: food, wine, speeches and fine human beings. Emerged intact. Our hosts were members of the Executive Committee of the Gori region—three or four young men not more than thirty years old.

On the way back to Tiflis, visited the former capital of Georgia, Mtskhet, now little more than a village; seeing a fine XI century

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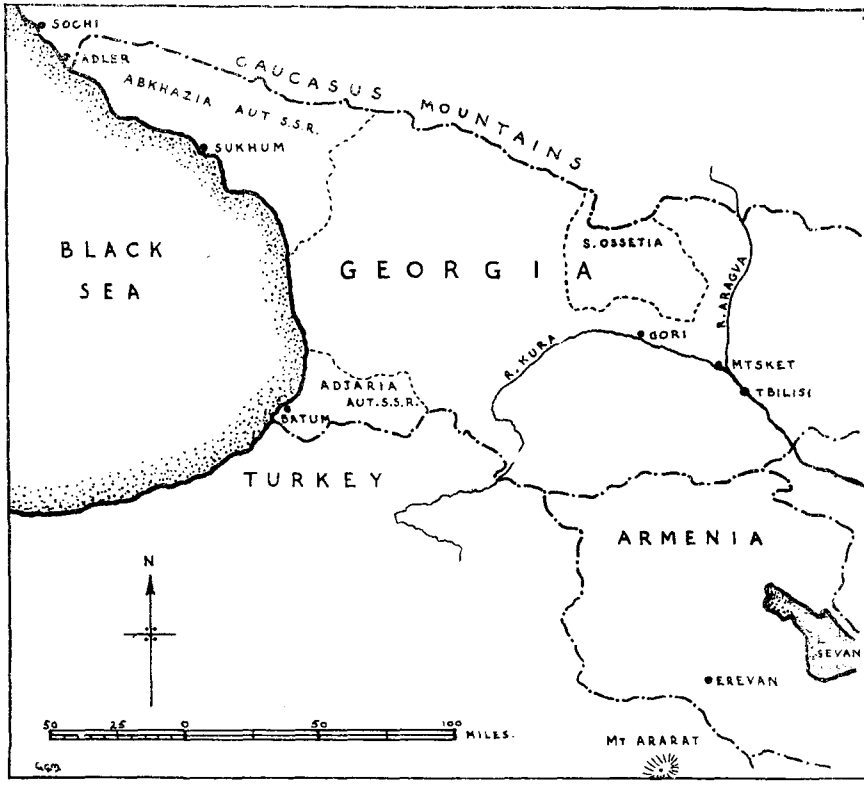
cathedral and having a talk with the archbishop. Noticed a table laid under the trees in the village for about fifty people, and enquiring what the occasion might be were told: ''The daughter of the chairman of the town Soviet is getting married.'' Lucky girl, to bring up children in Georgia.

Near Mtskhet is the Zages power station, by the junction of the Kura and Aragva rivers—specially interesting as one of the first to be built under GOELRO, Lenin's plan for the electrification of the country, which he summed up in the formula ''Electrification plus Soviet power equals socialism.''

In the evening saw the famous Georgian song and dance ensemble—magnificent performance which we hope to see in London. Visited the troupe on the stage after the performance and exchanged speeches of good wishes. They presented us with a bouquet which it took two men to lift. (Made rough calculation as to what we could do about bouquets if they came to London.)

Sept. 12. Went by plane to Makharadze, lying in rich and fertile lowland valley near Batumi, to visit the famous ''Beria'' collective farm, growing tea, citrus, and other sub-tropical produce. Spent



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some hours inspecting the farm. In view of the ''orthodox'' assertions that tea cultivation depends on ''cheap native labour'' we were interested to see who was doing the work of gathering. We found a small group of seven workers in one section engaged in socialist emulation with the group in the next garden, the leader being a girl of nineteen with a secondary education, obviously an extremely intelligent type, whose earnings were roughly equal to those of a skilled steel worker. The collective farm lands cover 1,500 hectares, and each of the 750 families forming the collective has an additional hectare for its private cultivation. Three hundred and fifty hectares of the collective lands are planted to tea, which gives an average yield of 2,800 kg. per hectare, though some varieties rise as high as 5,000 kg. per hectare. Other crops are citrus fruits (370 hectares), *tunga* (110 hectares), and rice and maize (400 hectares). There is also a livestock farm with 700 head of cattle and 90 pigs, in addition to the cow, two or three pigs, poultry and occasional horse owned individually by each family. The income of the collective, measured in money, is seven million roubles a year, and members of course have an extra income from their own plots of several thousand roubles. The collective income is divided on the basis of ''labour days'' put in by each worker: our tea-picker's ''labour day,'' for instance, would bring her in 18 roubles in cash and $3\frac{1}{2}$ kg. in kind of various products. To earn a ''labour day'' she had to pick 18 kg. of tea, and she explained that some of the most skilful pickers chalked up to 30-40 ''labour days'' a month. Other jobs were measured similarly: a worker on the citrus plantations, for example, would be credited with $1\frac{1}{2}$ labour days for every 120 trees dug round. The total number of workers at the time of our visit was 923, which included the 25 leaders of brigades. The total technical and administrative staff, including chairman, doctor, veterinary surgeon and agronomist, was only 23, but some administrative work, like calculation of work days performed, was done by the brigade leaders.

After inspecting their tea factory under the direction of the chief technician, a woman, and talking to a number of the executives who run this huge farm with great success with this small administrative staff (and no landlord!), we climbed back into the car in the belief that we were to be taken to the aerodrome to go on to Batumi, which we should really have reached some time before. The car, however, turned off into a little grassy orchard by a cottage, which might have been in, say, Cornwall; we climbed out and were each presented with a bouquet by the children of the cottage, who were by good chance as numerous as we were; and then their mother brought us ewers and basins with which we washed our hands standing in the orchard. Then there came a stage-wait: after all, no one had known to an hour or so when we would arrive; our suspicions as to what the next item really was were confirmed when we saw a neighbour slipping round the corner of the cottage with a few

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dozen plates half hidden by her apron. In due course we were taken up to the large first-floor room of the cottage—really no more than a large cottage—to our second experience of Georgian hospitality. Nearly twenty of us sat down; two English, one Russian, the rest Georgian. The feast was presided over by the Caucasian institution of "Tamodar" or chairman, who was entitled to ordain when there should be a toast, and to see that every glass was full before the toast and empty afterwards. He did so, with vigour. He was also entitled to call, and did call, for speeches—and there were some very good speeches, the political content of which was admirable, if not wholly suited to a Cornish farmhouse.

We appreciated—and survived—the wine, and drank all the toasts without cheating. All that we ate was produced on the farm: *Khachapuri*, a flat pie made of cheese and eggs; sheep's cheese and tomato salad; maize bread, wheat bread and scones; roast chickens, *kharcho*, a dish of rice, meat and sauce; grapes, pears, peaches, nuts and apples. But at the eighth course of the meal, sucking-pig roast whole, I confessed to defeat. Either out of courtesy, or because they too could manage no more, the Georgians stopped eating at the same point, and, as we afterwards learnt, the three further courses which the workers of miracles in the cottage kitchen below had prepared had to be put aside to be eaten cold on the morrow. We had thought that we already knew what peasant hospitality could do; but we walked out conscious that at any rate we knew more now! And a few minutes later, at dusk, we were in Batumi: we did not trouble the hotel there to give us dinner, but bathed in the Black Sea and went to bed.

Sept. 13. A very early bathe, with few people about—one of whom was going through the elaborate ritual of Moslem prayers by the sea shore. A little later we aroused the interest of some young ladies and gentlemen of seventeen to eighteen who were also bathing. On being approached, they confessed that they had been commenting with interest on our English conversation, as they were preparing for an examination in English in a few months. A practice *viva* was held, with much laughter on both sides.

Spent two hours in a marvellous tropical garden on a steep hillside in the steamy tropical heat of one particular corner of Batumi. For the most part the town was not steamy, but hot and dry and invigorating. Looked generally around this very beautiful place, seeing, among other points, the scenes of some early and famous strikes, particularly the 1902 strike at the Rothschild tobacco factory, of which Stalin's leadership is commemorated by an engraved stone let into the wall of the still-existing factory. Batumi is, among other things, a big petroleum-refining centre, but it is scarcely possible even to get a smell, let alone any dirt, from the refinery, and the apartments of the refinery workers look like Riviera luxury hotels, although of better architecture.

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Asking about education, we learnt that several nationalities had schools in Batumi, in particular the Russians and Armenians. Passing a school we thought: ''These Georgian children look very like children in Moscow,'' and found on enquiry that it happened to be a school for the Russian minority. (Ought we to have a school for English children in Glasgow?) This reminded us that Batumi is the centre of the Adjarian Autonomous Republic, the smallest republic of the U.S.S.R. both in territory and population. Its history of oppression by Persians, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, Seljuks, Mongols, Russian tsardom and native feudal lords, has turned into a story of freedom and prosperity, 97 per cent. illiteracy transformed into complete literacy, and a poverty-stricken, malaria-ridden agricultural slum into a land of ''millionaire'' collective farms accounting for 70 per cent. of the Soviet citrus crop, with its own schools, theatres and newspapers in its own language.

Flew back to Tiflis for lunch and spent the afternoon visiting a park perched on the crest of the mountain just above the town, approached by a funicular railway. A fine position and a fine view: a vast pavilion, with restaurant and other amenities, is another architectural triumph.

Met some progressive and interesting Americans, and compared notes on the limitations of our respective embassies in the U.S.S.R. They won: they had more appalling activities to recount than any of ours!

In the evening, after a long and very interesting conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Georgian S.S.R., who gave us many facts about his Republic, which is proud of—among other things—the highest school-leaving age in the U.S.S.R., we attended our third test of Georgian hospitality, a formal reception-dinner, repeating in urban terms the hospitality of Makharadze. Dinner lasted from 10 p.m. to about 2.15 a.m. Once again excellent and varied speeches, including one or two magnificently declaimed in beautiful Russian, as if to prove that their friend Shakespeare was right when he said ''All the world's a stage.'' Also opera and concert singers, and music and dance from our friends of the dance ensemble. I was puzzled at first to see a number of vacant seats at the table, but soon found that the custom is for the performers to join the feast when their turns are over.

Sept. 14. We flew over the mountains into Armenia, passing on the way over Sevan, a vast lake 6,600 feet above the sea, a great source of electric power supply for Armenia. It took forty-five minutes to arrive above Erevan, and fifteen minutes to spiral down onto its aerodrome!

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Book Reviews

American Adolescent

The New United States by Edgar Eugene Robinson (Stanford University Press and Oxford University Press, 15*s*6*d*).

THE AUTHOR of this 140-page essay sets out quite deliberately to provide a gospel for American expansion. Hitherto the American continent has been enough for the American people; now, if democracy is to survive in the Americas, the American way of life must spread throughout the world. Hitherto American school-books have dealt too parochially with the history of the American people. In future they must deal less with fact and detail and concern themselves more with the "history of Americans abroad and of Americans in the world." Then Americans who stay at home will find their sympathy enlisted . . . "they will back their own people in new ventures if they see these as ventures of their own people."

Such is the thesis of Professor Robinson, who sheds, throughout his naif and rather *jejune* feats of mental skating virtuosity, a disillusioning light on the arrogant temper of modern American "internationalism" even in its most liberal dress.

For Professor Robinson would be called a Liberal. He is evidently humane. And his wilful blindness to any spots on the face of his beloved is rather terrifying. He can solemnly tell us that "American democracy in the relations of daily life" (equated in the same paragraph with "what we mean by individual freedom") means that the differences of men and women "in ability, in colour, in stature, in possessions, shall not lead to restrictions upon opportunity, except as they are self-imposed," and that "our American democracy is based in this healthy relationship" (page 134).

And, plainly, Professor Robinson is entirely ready to pay the price of a self-deception so vast that it forgets, as a mere trifle, the condition of (to start with) some nineteen millions of his fellow-citizens of darker hue. On page 107 he openly warns us that there are "malcontents we ought to recognise as such." There are actually men who insist on "pointing out inequalities and incompleteness here at home, which of course exist, and (suggest) that we do something about it now and completely." But "these," we are told to note, "are not honest practitioners of effective American democracy."

Perhaps the Emperor would still be walking about with no clothes on if Professor Robinson had been there to yell "Red!" and "No Democrat!" when the little child deposed to what he saw.

I. M.

A Scholarly Marxist Study

Marxism and the Democratic Tradition by A. Landy (International Publishers, New York).

THE RELATIONSHIP between Marxism and democracy cannot be properly understood without historical study. The author of this book, therefore, devotes almost all of it, firstly, to the rise of modern democracy, going back to its roots in the bourgeois revolutions of England, France, America and on the continent of Europe, and, secondly, to the origins of Marxism in the general democratic trend in these revolutions. Thereby he is able to refute the charge that Marxism is "undemocratic" and to reveal the profound connection between Marxism and the democratic tradition, which it carries forward to a higher plane.

It is a pity that the author has no space in this volume to trace the actual relationship between Marxism and democracy during the 100 years since the publication of the Communist Manifesto, having to content himself with outlining some of the main phases of this relationship in a few pages of epilogue. The book is a scholarly Marxist study, but easy to read, and an edition in this country would be welcome.

C. P. DUTT.

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Publications Received

CHARTS

Power, Early Stages (Pictorial Charts) (2*s*6*d* each).
Wool (20 in. by 30 in.) (Pictorial Charts, 2*s*6*d* each).

PERIODICALS

New Age. (Vol. 1. No. 1. March, 1946). Editor Peiter Keuneman (People's Publishing House, Colombo Ceylon, 50*c*., 40 pp.).
Greek News (League for Democracy in Greece, 2*d*, 4 pp.).

PAMPHLETS

Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India (People's Publishing House, Bombay), 2 Annas 14 pp.).
Unite for Post-War Progress by J. D. Blake (Australian Communist Party, 2*d*, 14 pp.).
Creative Labour and Culture by Maxim Gorky (Current Book Distributors (Sydney), 76 pp.).
Wages and Prices in the U.S.S.R. by Reginald Bishop (British Soviet Soc., 6*d*, 24 pp.).
The Story of Soviet Aviation by Ken Craven (R.T.D., 6*d*, 24 pp.).
Soviet Millionaires. Revised edition by Reg. Bishop (R.T.D., 3*d*, 14 pp.).
Planned Reconstruction in the Soviet Union by J. G. Kekewich (R.T.D., 6*d*, 24 pp.).
Labour's Struggle in Latin America by John Horner. Foreword by Lombardo Toledano (Research Press Publications, 6*d*, 14 pp.).
Soviet Cinema by Herbert Marshall (Russia Today, 1*s*, 40 pp.).
India—A Christian Plea for Understanding by Leonard Schieff (C.C.M.C.O., 6*d*, 16 pp.).
Christians and the Soviet Union by Hugh E. Worlledge (C.C.M.C.O., 6*d*, 16 pp.).
Three Cheers and a Beer! by Etienne Watts (C.C.M.C.O., 6*d*, 16 pp.).
Poland Liberated by R. Howard (Communist Party, 3*d*, 14 pp.).
The Story of Government Enterprise in Australia by L. L. Sharkey and E. W. Campbell (Australian C.P., 1*s*, 80 pp.).
In New Poland by D. Zaslavsky (Russia Today, 1*s*, 64 pp.).
Rural Realities by A. C. Dann (Labour Research Department, 6*d*, 16 pp.).
Australia's Progress (R. Chiplin and R. Smith (Sydney, Australia) 6*d*, 68 pp.).
Jobs for All by B. T. Ranadive (People's Publishing House (India) 4*ans*., 30 pp.).
Wages, Prices and Profits (Labour Research Department, 6*d*, 28 pp.).

BOOKLETS

This Was Oswiecim (The Story of a Murder Camp) by Dr. Filip Friedman (United Jewish Relief Appeal, 2*s*6*d*, 84 pp.).
Society's Stepchildren Fight Back (The Story of Scandinavian Seamen in America) by Gus Alexander (Gus Alexander, New York, 25*c*., 64 pp.).
Towards Singing Tomorrows (The Last Testament of Gabriel Peri) With an Essay by Louis Aragon (International Publishers, New York, 15*c*, 40 pp.).
Australian New Writing (No. 3) (Current Book Distributors, Sydney, 1*s*, 80 pp.).
A Method for Analyzing Classifactory Relationship Systems by B. Ruhemann (University of New Mexico Press, 36 pp.).

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